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Portuguese

Aline Bazenga

6 Portugal: Madeira

Abstract: The spoken varieties of Portuguese in the archipelago of Madeira form part of the group of Insular Dialects of European Portuguese and may be classified as settler or transported varieties. This chapter describes the complex sociolinguistic characterization of this Portuguese archipelago, with special attention to the educated variety of Madeiran Portuguese. It presents an overview of the historical context of the settlement of Madeira, and it outlines the contemporary political situation taking account of diverse, interdisciplinary perspectives. The chapter discusses usage and attitudes towards specific linguistic phenomena, with illustrative examples. Linguistic and cultural contacts, the peripheral location of the archipelago relative to Europe, internal isolation over a long period, and the natural vulnerability of the islands have all contributed to the construction of a regional identity and, through the Madeiran elite, to the recognition of that identity within the rest of Portugal and Europe. In all, the chapter seeks to contribute to a deeper, more systematic, and up-to-date understanding of the linguistic situation of Madeiran Portuguese.

Keywords: settler variety, island dialect, sociolinguistics, language history, European Portuguese

1 Sociolinguistic situation

1.1 Geography and population

The archipelago of Madeira is comprised of the inhabited islands of Madeira (740.2 km^2) and Porto Santo (42.5 km^2), the uninhabited *Ilhas Desertas* '(lit.) deserted islands' (14.2 km^2) and *Ilhas Selvagens* '(lit.) wild islands' (3.6 km^2), and a group of sixteen islets. It is situated southwest of Portugal and around 700 km from the African coast in the North Atlantic. The largest island, Madeira, is volcanically formed. In geomorphological terms, it is marked by sharp relief and a very high peak. There are steep cliffs and ravines along the north-facing hillsides. On the southern and south-eastern slopes, the relief is less accentuated, with areas commonly known as *calhau* '(lit.) pebble (beaches)' used as wharfs and ports. This archipelago is dominated by one island (Madeira), characterized by a hypo-insularity, within the typology proposed by Taglioni (2011). It is politically autonomous, although it is not an independent state; the dominance of the main island affects all matters relating to the territory, economics, social life, and more.

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Eleven municipal councils make up the archipelago. Ten are located on the island of Madeira (Santana, Machico, Santa Cruz, Funchal, Câmara de Lobos, Ribeira Brava, Ponta do Sol, Calheta, Porto Moniz, and São Vicente). The eleventh is the island of Porto Santo. The south-facing capital city of Funchal is located on Madeira island. From the time of its initial settlement around 1420, this spacious port city was used extensively during the period of Portuguese territorial expansion in North Africa, both for exploratory travel and for the provision of cereals to the African market. The economic cycles of wine and sugar production that followed turned Funchal into an important outpost for commerce and supply, and the city attracted an increasing number of ships and merchants from diverse places, and particularly British traders.

Official data from 2018 records the population of the archipelago at 254,157 inhabitants (2.5 % of the total population of Portugal). Around 70 % of that population (182,605 inhabitants) were residing in three councils: Funchal, Câmara de Lobos, and Santa Cruz, which are all located in the south of Madeira island. The remaining population of the archipelago (71,340 individuals) was distributed across the other eight councils, each having a much smaller number of inhabitants. Data on population density confirms the asymmetry of population distribution: there are 1367 inhabitants/km^2 in Funchal, 646.6 inhabitants/km^2 in Câmara de Lobos, and 549 inhabitants/km^2 in Santa Cruz. By contrast, in Porto Moniz there are only 28.3 inhabitants/km^2, in São Vicente 65.3 inhabitants/km^2, and in Calheta 97.4 inhabitants/km^2 (PORDATA 2019, 8s.).

Madeira is more vulnerable to natural disasters than mainland Portugal, and it has a lower capacity for effective response, principally because it is a small island territory (Perdigão 2017, 72). The predisposition of the territory to hurricanes, storms, floods, landslides, volcanic eruptions, and so on, has a significant effect on the economy of the region. Madeira is considered to be an under-privileged region that faces specific challenges due to its peripheral location and relative isolation. It benefits from an exceptional political-administrative status within Portugal – that of the Autonomous Region of Madeira (*Região Autónoma da Madeira*). Madeira is also one of a group of ultraperipheral European regions, and so benefits from a higher level of funding (Baldacchino/Pleijel 2010, 89).

Most of the active population is engaged in the tertiary sector, with employment in tourism being preponderant (Almeida/Rodrigues 2010, 14). Tourism has existed for many centuries, since the colonial period (Almeida 2016, 148). Between January and November 2019, 1,496,322 tourists visited Madeira, of whom 318,604 (21.2 %) were from Portugal (cf. DREM 2020). Most foreign visitors to the island came from Europe (1,117,728), with 297,742 (26.6 %) from the UK, 284,183 (25.4 %) from Germany, and 167,422 (14.9 %) from France (DREM 2020, 23). Agriculture also plays an important role on the islands, especially in social and cultural terms. Small-scale family production is predominant in this sector, reflecting the fragmented, dispersed, and uneven population density.

Funchal is the most populous Portuguese city outside the mainland, and the sixth largest nationally, after Lisbon (Pg. *Lisboa*), Oporto (Pg. *Porto*), Vila Nova de Gaia, Ama-

dora, and Braga. Funchal is marked by socioeconomic imbalance. The population with the lowest income is located largely in the more peripheral western and northern parishes where there are a greater number of social clusters engaged in subsistence farming. Thus, even within the city, there are significant contrasts between the urban and the semi-rural.

In 2019 (cf. PORDATA 2020), the social distribution of residents of the archipelago aged over 15, by educational level was as follows: 54.5 % had completed at least some of the stages (*ciclos*) of compulsory basic education (stage 1: years 1–4, stage 2: years 5–6 stage 3: years 7–9); 21.8 % had also completed secondary and/or further education; and 15.7 % had completed higher education. The illiteracy rate was around 7.6 %, representing a significant reduction compared to the situation observed in 2001, when the rate was 12.7 % overall, with large variations between the southern, urban areas of Funchal and Santa Cruz (8.4 % and 9.4 % respectively), and the northern, rural regions of Santana (23.8 %), São Vicente (22.3 %), and Porto Moniz (21.8 %). The north/south imbalance that characterizes Madeira is reflected in levels of educational attainment. In the same period, a general increase in those who have some training beyond compulsory schooling was observed, and this tendency is in line with the pattern of social distribution by educational level in mainland Portugal.

Portuguese is the majority first language throughout the archipelago, and the exclusive first language in areas that are non-urban, have a smaller population, and/or are more isolated. On the south coast of Madeira island, urban areas are characterized by greater linguistic diversity. In those areas, the younger and more highly educated Madeiran population, as well as tourism sector workers, are able to communicate in more than one language in addition to their Portuguese mother tongue. The urban south coast is also home to most of the foreign resident communities, where other mother tongues are spoken (such as English, Spanish, German, Mandarin, and Russian), which are minority languages locally.

1.2 Language

Portuguese is the sole official language of the Autonomous Region of Madeira and the first language of most of the population. Nonetheless, most inhabitants possess some level of proficiency in more than one language. A number of factors influence this situation: (i) second-language learning is obligatory from school year 5 in the current curriculum, (ii) there is a significant presence of foreign communities and speakers of other languages, (iii) many Madeirans have learnt another language through emigration, and (iv) there is substantial contact with tourists of other nationalities who visit the island.

In relation to (i), it can be assumed that in 2019, 68.4 % of the population of the archipelago over the age of 15 would have had multilingual competencies, with knowledge of at least one second language acquired through their formal education, in addition to Portuguese as their first language (cf. PORDATA 2020).

The legally-resident foreign population (ii) in 2018 accounted for 7,535 inhabitants, or around 3 % of the total population (PORDATA 2019, 9). 81.6 % of this population reside in four councils on the south coast of Madeira island: Funchal (4181 of 104,286 inhabitants in total, or 4 % of the population), Santa Cruz (1031 of 44,581 inhabitants, or 2.3 %), Ribeira Brava (305 of 12,420 inhabitants, or 2.4 %), and Calheta (630 of 10,883 inhabitants, or 5.7 %). The largest foreign population is from the United Kingdom (997 of 7,535, or 13.2 %), although this group is still smaller than all residents from other European countries combined (2026), or from the Americas (1,753). Many foreign residents of Madeira originate from places where the official language is Portuguese, such as Brazil (820 residents) and African countries (169), making a total of 989, or around 13 % of the total foreign resident population of the island.

People from Venezuela are counted among foreign residents from South America. There is a large Luso-Venezuelan community in Madeira. Only those who do not have Portuguese citizenship are included in official figures, but unofficial estimates suggest that there are around 8,000 Luso-Venezuelans in Madeira, the majority of whom have come to the islands in the last decade and have therefore had a significant impact on the island community. This figure includes Madeiran emigrants returning from Venezuela, and their descendants who were born in that country; in both cases, these residents have Portuguese or dual nationality.

In addition to Luso-Venezuelans (iii), the large community of former emigrants who have resided abroad for at least one year includes those who have returned from countries such as the UK and South Africa. The 2011 Census data suggests that this community represents 18.2 % of the total population of Madeira. Migration and movement to other places and continents (for example the Canaries, the West Indies, Brazil, Hawaii, Curaçao, Venezuela, Angola, South Africa) is a longstanding feature of Madeiran social history and cultural tradition, and there have been successive waves of migration since the sixteenth century (Vieira 2001), and especially during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Oliveira 2013, 125–130).

Finally (iv), it is important to take account of fleeting or occasional contact with speakers of other languages through tourism (cf. 1.1).

2 Linguistic history

Discovery of the island – Historiography relating to the discovery of the archipelago of Madeira is not conclusive with regard to either the date or the way in which the islands were encountered. Newitt (2005, 2–7, 10s.) argues that several intercontinental commercial routes were in existence before the Portuguese maritime explorations, which therefore cannot be classed as discoveries *per se*. Officially, the discovery and claiming of the islands on 1 July 1419 and their subsequent occupation is attributed to João Gonçalves Zarco and Tristão Vaz on behalf of the Portuguese crown (Zurara 1841 [1473]; Frutuoso 2007 [1586–1590]). That date is celebrated as the Official Holiday of the autonomous re-

gion (*Dia da Região*). However, the archipelago of Madeira was represented geographically on maps which predate the Portuguese claims, such as the *Insyla Capraria* by Angelino Dulcert (1339), the Medici-Laurentian Portolan atlas (1351), the Pinelli-Walckenaer atlas (ca. 1384), which is a more faithful cartographic representation than these earlier maps, and other Catalan and Italian maps such as that drawn by Nicolau Pasqualini (1408), which includes the designation "Madiera" (Vieira et al. 2001, 14; Pinto/Rodrigues 2013, 15). This documentary evidence indicates that the discovery was probably the result of expeditions undertaken by Genovese, Catalan, or Venetian sailors. Yet another version of events has become a foundational myth in the archipelago: the Englishman Robert Machim is said to have been the first to discover the island, landing at a place that was named Machico in his honour (cf. Livramento 2016). This hypothesis appears in the Record (*Relação*) of Francisco Alcoforado, who nonetheless attributes the claim of the territory for Portugal and the settlement of the archipelago to Zarco and Vaz (Pinto/Rodrigues 2013, 17).

Establishment of Portuguese – Chroniclers of the time are categorical in their assertions that there was no native population in Madeira: Cadamosto affirmed in 1455 that the island was previously unknown and had never been inhabited (Vieira 1994, 40). There is consensus that the Portuguese crown, particularly Prince Henry the Navigator, initiated the occupation and settlement of the territory, although there is some controversy around the precise date of the first settlement. It is only possible to say with certainty that colonization commenced from the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century after a failed 1424 expedition by Dom Fernando de Castro to the Canary Islands (Pinto/Rodrigues 2013, 17s.).

The Portuguese language was established with the arrival of the first settlers in the early fifteenth century after preliminary journeys by Bartolomeu Perestrelo and Gonçalves Zarco in 1419. Settlers came from all parts of the kingdom, with the majority from the North (cf. Albuquerque/Vieira 1987; Melo 1988; Vieira 2007). Most of these early Portuguese settlers were from the lower social orders – pageboys, servants, and even exiles. Other settlers were second sons or belonged to the minor aristocracy and were driven by the ambition for greater titles and land rights (cf. Gonçalves 1958).

The second phase of settlement, from 1450 to 1550, was a period of development in terms of demography, agriculture, trades, and commerce. A significant number of foreigners were attracted to the island by the sugar trade. Many were Italians (Genovese and Florentine) but there were also French, Flemish, and Castilians. They established residences on the island, principally in Funchal, which emerged from the beginning as the main centre of population, and also in other areas along the south coast where there were sugarcane fields and plantations (Vieira 1999; 2016; Vieira et al. 2001, 23–26; Pinto/Rodrigues 2013, 20). In the mid-sixteenth century, the sugarcane plantations gave way to vineyards, commencing a new economic cycle – wine – in which the British would have a significant role (Pinto/Rodrigues 2013, 19). Later, German settlers would arrive, although they were fewer in number, and this nationality was engaged especially in the embroidery industry (Vieira et al. 2001, 125).

From the beginning of its history, the European population in Madeira had contact with other ethnic communities of enslaved people (Arabs, Guanchinets – the native people of the Canary Islands, and black people from the Gulf of Guinea, cf. Vieira 1991). The majority of Mediterranean societies made use of enslaved people in roles that varied from domestic service to soldiers, sailors, tradespeople, and rural workers. The slave trade was likely what had attracted Genovese and other merchants to explore and establish administrations along the Atlantic coast of Morocco and the Canary Islands throughout the fourteenth century (cf. Newitt 2005, 6, 29s.). The large population of Portuguese colonizers was nonetheless insufficient for extensive agricultural exploitation of the island, due in part to the steep terrain and dense forests. The labour of enslaved people was employed, and at the end of the fifteenth century, they represented 12 % of the total population of the island, that is, around 2,000 inhabitants (Pinto/Rodrigues 2013, 19). There are multiple toponymic traces of the presence of enslaved people on the island: the Canary Islands are represented in the *Pico Canário* 'Canarian Peak' in Santana; the North African *Mouros* 'Moors' appear in the road name *Rua de Mouraria* 'Moortown road' in Funchal, and in the place names *Lombo do Mouro* 'Moor's Hill' in Paúl da Serra, and *Cova do Mouro* 'Moor's Ditch' in Porto Moniz; black Africans from the Gulf of Guinea are named in the *Cova do Negro* 'Black's Ditch' in Ponta do Pargo, Serra de Água, and Porto Moniz, *Furnas do Negro* 'Black's Grottos' in Porto Moniz, *Quebradas do Negro* 'Black's Gully' in Achadas da Cruz, and the road name *Rua das Pretas* 'Black Women's Road' in Funchal (Vieira et al. 2001, 140).

From its inception, island society was shaped by social difference. On the one hand, there were the rich, landowning families from the islands or from overseas; on the other, the majority of the population, enslaved or otherwise, was devoted to agricultural activity or trades, and suffered very difficult living conditions.

The British came to be the most important foreign presence in Madeiran daily life, and this influence would persist through the centuries (cf. Vieira 2016). There were British residents on the island in the sixteenth century. After the restoration of independence from Spain in 1640, the Portuguese Crown welcomed an increased British presence and conceded greater privileges to that group. The affirmation of British hegemony in the Atlantic and Indian oceans from the seventeenth century transformed Madeira into an indispensable maritime base and a crucial supply port for ships in the wine trade. Various Navigation Acts (*Atos de Navegação*, 1660/1665) opened the way for the island to enter the area of influence of the British Empire and were confirmed with treaties such as the Methuen Treaty (1703). In effect, Madeira functioned as a colony of the British Crown. This situation would be made official during the Napoleonic wars: between 24 December 1807 and 24 April 1808, Madeira was twice occupied by British troops under the pretext of protecting the island from imminent French attacks (Oliveira 2013, 105).

Milestones of its further development – From the earliest occupation of the island, the relationship between Madeira and the mainland was effectively colonial. Madeira was far away from the centre of power, and the realization that all institutional relation-

ships were defined by colonialism sparked a movement in favour of autonomy (cf. Vieira 2018, 11–21). Rodrigues (2010, 210s.) argues that the regional historical narrative of a deep-rooted contrast between the islands and continental Portugal started to take shape as early as the seventeenth century, with the epic poem *Insulana*, by Manuel Tomás (1635), which depicts island life. Around two centuries later, another heroic poem, *Zargueida* (1806) by Francisco de Paula Medina e Vasconcelos was dedicated to João Gonçalves Zarco, the official discoverer of Madeira.

Defences of Madeiran interests intensified around the end of the nineteenth century. The topic was debated in the press, starting with the publication *Patriota Funchalense*, and spreading to other press outlets on the island (Vieira et al. 2001, 257). The discussion continued into the twentieth century with the so-called golden generation of island intellectuals such as Alberto Artur Sarmento, Cabral do Nascimento, Ernesto Gonçalves, and Fernando Augusto da Silva and Carlos Azevedo de Menezes, the authors of the *Elucidário Madeirense*, a culturally important reference work published in 1921 and 1940.

Political and financial relations between mainland Portugal and the island deteriorated over time and were marked by a consistent failure on the part of central government to attend to the needs of the island, leading to a sense of abandonment among its inhabitants. These relations had distinct legal and institutional frameworks and it is possible to identify three key periods: (i) Madeira as a colony of the kingdom, from 1426 to 1822 (the year of the Liberal Revolution in Portugal), (ii) Madeira as an adjacent district, a status that was established in 1822, and (iii) the recognition of Madeira as an autonomous region, in 1976.

In the first of those periods, the king Dom Duarte conceded the two islands to Prince Henry the Navigator in 1433. This important act removed the direct dependency of settlers on the Portuguese Crown. Prince Henry delegated the organization and administration of the territories by means of three hereditary land grants (cf. Carita 2016): Machico was granted to Tristão Vaz Teixeira (1440), Porto Santo was given to João Bartolomeu Perestrelo (1444), and João Gonçalves Zarco was awarded the administration of Funchal (1450).

Under the Constitution of 23 September 1822, which followed the Liberal Revolution, the archipelagos of Madeira and the Azores ceased to be associated with the overseas provinces (or colonies) and were annexed to continental Portugal through their designation as 'adjacent islands' (*ilhas adjacentes*). The new terminology was retained in the Constitutional Charter of 1826, and the subsequent constitutions of 1838 and 1911, although it was not accompanied by any great change in other respects (Vieira et al. 2001, 248s.). Following the First Republic (1910–1926), the designation was maintained in the period of National Dictatorship, as set out in the Foundational Law for the Administration of the Territories and Islands (*Lei de Bases da Administração do Território e das Ilhas Adjacentes*, Law 1967 of 30 April 1930) and the 1933 Constitution.

Following the Carnation Revolution of 25 April 1974 and the restoration of democracy, article 6 of the Constitution of 2 April 1976 established a special status for the archi-

pelagos of Madeira and the Azores as autonomous regions with separate political and administrative legal powers. On 19 July 1976, the Regional Assembly of Madeira was inaugurated. On 1 October of the same year, the first Regional Government was elected. The symbols of autonomy –the flag, shield, official seal, and anthem– were approved by the Regional Assembly on 28 July 1978. On 1 July 1985, the official holiday of the region was celebrated for the first time. On 5 July 1991 the first Political-Administrative Statute was published, and this formed the basis for the revised, definitive version which was passed in 1999 and remains in force to this date.

3 External Language Policy

3.1 Legislation

The most recent version of the Portuguese Constitution (12 August 2005) states explicitly that the official language is Portuguese (art. 11.3). This stipulation extends to Madeira as part of the Portuguese territory (art. 5.1), despite its autonomous status.

3.2 Languages used in administration

Portuguese is the language used in all official organizations. It is the sole language of expression used in public by all political figures, both nationally and locally, in interviews, communications, and other contributions. It is the main language used in signage. Nonetheless, and due to tourism and the long tradition of foreign residents, the linguistic landscape of the island is marked by the presence of multiple additional languages, especially English, and particularly in urban settings such as Funchal and other towns on the south side of Madeira (cf. Macedo/Bazenga 2019).

3.3 Languages used in education

Portuguese is the language of the state education system, both in oral and written usage, and at all levels. Second language learning is obligatory, in addition to Portuguese. Article 9 of Decree-Law 139 (2012) relates to the teaching of foreign languages and makes English as a foreign language compulsory for the five years covering stages 2 and 3 of the national curriculum. Where schools have sufficient resources, the law allows for English language tuition focussing on oral expression from stage 1. In stage 3, the final part of compulsory education, a second foreign language such as French or German is introduced. The law also provides for the tuition of Portuguese as a second or other language where appropriate (art. 10).

3.4 Languages used in the media

There are a number of local, private stations (*Santana*, *Posto Emissor do Funchal* – PEF, *Radio Zarco*, *Radio Palmeira*, *Megafone Radio*, *Radio Calheta*, *Jornal da Madeira*, *TSF Madeira*, *Radio Festival*, *Radio Popular*, *Radio Cantinho da Madeira*, *Radio Sol*, *Radio Miradouro*) as well as the public station *Radiodifusão Portuguesa* (RDP), which has been broadcasting in the ARM via a Regional Broadcasting Centre since 1980. This centre is autonomous in terms of its financial administration and management and is also responsible for the television channel *Radio Televisão Portuguesa* (RTP) Madeira and for the RDP-Madeira radio stations *Antena 1* and *Antena 3*. Both stations present regional productions, such as *Madeira Viva* 'Madeira Alive', *Casa das Artes* 'House of Letters', *Atlântida Madeira* 'Madeira Atlantis', and *Passeio Público* 'Promenade', all of which are talk shows with a focus on local guests and/or reports on local events and themes of regional and cultural interest such as the Book Fair, the Flower Festival, music festivals, book launches, and exhibitions.

4 Linguistic characteristics

The spoken varieties of Madeiran Portuguese have been the subject of few descriptive studies. Most studies prior to 2010 focused on the lexical and phonetic fields, to the detriment of studies of syntax (cf. Bazenga 2014). Brissos/Gillier/Saramago (2016, 31) note that the classification and characteristics of Madeiran dialects remain under-researched. In their study, these authors conclude that there are two basic groups of Madeiran varieties of Portuguese: those from the west of Madeira and from Porto Santo, and those from the centre and east of Madeira island. This linguistic configuration corresponds to the social and geographical dichotomies that have been observed above (cf. 1).

These two groups do not reflect the great internal phonetic diversity that has been observed (Cintra 2008). The variety of accents and their perception by Madeiran speakers (Andrade 2014) may be related to the mountainous characteristics of the landscape and the difficulty in establishing roads, particularly on the densely populated island of Madeira. Up to the end of the nineteenth century, roads were scarce and difficult to access. The tortuous geographical conditions made road construction difficult. In general, routes were travelled on foot, by horse, or in a carrying net (a type of rudimentary litter).

Maritime transport of people and goods, by ferry or other types of boat, linked the various ports on the north and south coasts, and on Porto Santo (cf. Vieira/Janes 2017). For many island residents, travelling to Funchal implied a long, difficult, and potentially dangerous adventure along trails and tracks, and it was therefore a rare occurrence for most people even well into the twentieth century. As such, individual towns and settlements were relatively isolated even from one another (cf. Londral 2016). This type of internal isolation may have contributed to the conservation of local spoken varieties, with unique traits which mark out the speaker as coming from a certain place.

In the last decade, research on linguistic variation in Madeira has tended to focus on the variety spoken in Funchal, and especially on syntax. In these sociolinguistic studies, certain grammatical particularities have been identified which are more frequent among speakers with a lower level of education. To date, there has not been a systematic study of the educated variety of Portuguese spoken in Madeira, nor of the Portuguese spoken by the elites in this island society. Nevertheless, it is possible to formulate some hypotheses regarding the linguistic characteristics of elite Madeiran society based on existing studies of linguistic variation, and especially those which include social variables in their analysis.

4.1 Pronunciation

Notable academic work on phonetic description of the varieties of Portuguese spoken in Madeira includes Brüdt (1937), Macedo (1939), Rogers (1946), Pereira (1952), Rezende (1961), Nunes (1965), Cintra (2008), Andrade (1994), Saramago/Segura (1999), Rebelo (2005), Rodrigues (2015). Segura (2013, 106–110) lists the most common phonetic phenomena in the archipelago: (i) the diphthongization of the stressed vowels /i/ and /u/, such as in *navio* [nɛvɐjɨ] 'ship' or *lua* [lɐwɛ] 'moon' instead of [nɛviu] or [luɛ], and of /o/, such as in *boa* [bɐwɛ] 'good (f.)' instead of [boɛ]; (ii) the palatalization of /l/ before or (less frequently) after /i/ and /j/, articulated as [ʎ], such as in *aquilo* [ɐkiʎu] 'that' or *família* [fɐmiʎɐ] 'family' instead of [ɐkilu] or [fɐmiljɐ]; a process that can also occur across word boundaries, such as in *peguei lume* 'I turned the light on' [pɨgɐj ʎúmɨ] instead of [pɨgɐj łúmɨ]; (iii) the reduction of the unstressed /ɐ/ at the end of a word, as [ɨ] or its elision, which affects all words independently of their lexical category, such as in *cinco* [sĩkɨ] 'five' or *falo* [falɨ] 'I speak' instead of [sĩku] or [falu]; (iv) the assimilation (semivocalization or vocalization) of the final fricative /s/ where an external *sandhi* (a phonetic process characterized by the modification of the sound of a word or morpheme when juxtaposed with another, especially in fluent speech) occurs (except where it is a voiceless plosive), resulting in [j] and [i], such as in *as vacas* [ɐj vakɐʃ] 'the cows' or *os bichos* [uj biʃuʃ] 'the animals' instead of [ɐʃ vakɐʃ] or [uʃ biʃuʃ]; (v) the formation of a rising diphthong on the stressed syllable of a word by means of the insertion of the semivowels /j/ or /w/, such as in *burros* [bjuʁuʃ] 'donkeys', *inverno* [ĩvjɛrnu] 'winter', *caminhou* [kɐmiɲwɛ] 'he walked', *avô* [ɐvwɛ] 'grandfather', or *carro* [kwɐʁu] 'car', instead of [buʁuʃ], [ĩvɛrnu], [kɐmiɲo], [ɐvo], or [kɐʁu] (Segura 2013, 109).

In addition to these features, scholars have also noted (vi) the loss of nasality in words ending in the diphthong *-em* [-ẽj], such as in *paragem* [pɐraʒɨ] 'stop (n)' instead of [pɐraʒẽj], and the monophthongization of *-oi-* [-oj-], such as in *depois* [dɨpoʃ] 'after' instead of [dɨpojʃ], and *-ai-* [-aj-], such as in *mais* [mɐʃ] 'more' instead of [majʃ] (Boléo 1975, 338), and (vii) paragoge, in particular the addition of a final vowel *-e* [ɨ], such as in *abril* [ɐbriʎɨ] 'April' or *azule* [ɐzulɨ] 'blue' instead of [ɐbril] or [ɐzul], which can also affect all infinitive verbs, such as for example *comer* [kumeɾɨ] 'to eat' or *falar* [fɐlaɾɨ] 'to

speak' instead of [kumeɾ] or [fɐlaɾ] (Nunes 1998, 82s.); (viii) the monophthongization of the diphthong *-ões* [-õj̃ʃ] at the end of a word, which is characteristic of Funchal, such as *limões* [limõʃ] 'lemons' instead of [limõjʃ] (Andrade 1994, 17).

4.2 Morphosyntax

In terms of syntax, a study by Bazenga/Andrade (2017) observes the occurrence of non-standard variants in dialectal data from informants with a lower level of formal education. The following examples are selected from the Syntax-oriented Corpus of Portuguese Dialects (*Corpus Dialectal para o Estudo da Sintaxe* – CORDIAL-SIN), and show phenomena such as the construction of the double subject *a gente se* (Martins 2009, 180), as in "A gente não se come mas os de Lisboa diz que comem daquele" (CORDIAL-SIN, CLC) instead of *Nós não comemos, mas os de Lisboa dizem que comem daquele* 'We don't eat it, but they say that people from Lisbon eat that'; aspect constructions using the gerund, as in "toda a gente estava desejando de chegar ao Natal" (CORDIAL-SIN, PST) instead of *toda a gente estava a desejar chegar ao Natal* 'Everyone wanted Christmas to come'; the construction of the impersonal existential with the verb *ter* 'to have', as in "Porque aqui à nossa frente, tinha um alto, tinha um moinho de vento" (CORDIAL-SIN, PST instead of *Porque aqui à nossa frente, havia um alto, tinha um moinho de vento*) 'Because here in front of us there was a hill and a windmill'; and the possessive pronoun without an article, which is only observed in Madeira and the Azores, as in "Mas meu pai tinha era gado, fazendas" (CORDIAL-SIN, PST instead of *Mas o meu pai tinha era gado, fazendas*) 'But my father, he had cattle, farms' (cf. Carrilho/Pereira 2013, 75).

Other studies focus on variable phenomena, such as pronominal syntax and verbal agreement (e.g., Bazenga 2019a; 2019b; Vieira/Bazenga 2013; Rodrigues/Bazenga 2019), using the theoretical and methodological principles of variationist sociolinguistics and the Sociolinguistics Corpus of Funchal (*Corpus Sociolinguístico do Funchal* – CSF). In general, findings point to the educational level as a relevant factor. The less contact a speaker has with the standard variety via their formal education, the less that variety will be present in speech, and at the same time, the more non-standard Portuguese varieties will persist. This is especially true of the form *ele* 'he' when employed as an anaphoric direct object, such as in *eu vi ele* 'I saw he' instead of the standard form *eu vi-o* 'I saw him' (cf. Bazenga 2019a, 745ss.). It also applies in the variable use of third-person plural variants, that is in addition to the standard morpheme *-am* (as in the present form *eles falam* 'they speak' or the preterite form *eles falaram* 'they spoke') also in the non-standard morphemes *-em* as in *eles falem* instead of the standard *eles falam*, in the imperfect past tense *eles falavem* instead of *eles falavam*, and *-o*/*-õ*, such as *eles falarõ* in the simple future tense instead of *eles falarão* (cf. Bazenga 2019a, 736ss.).

Furthermore, Andrade (2014) observes several syntactic phenomena that are characteristic of the educated variety of Portuguese spoken in Madeira, and which neither attract attention nor form an object of negative evaluation by Madeiran speakers. These

phenomena are also attested to in the CSF, by degree-educated speakers: a preference for the elision of the object pronoun or the non-realization of the anaphoric direct object, as in "deitam o lixo lá em baixo onde é que [Ø] vão pôr?" (CSF, FNC-MC3_309) instead of the standard strategy which corresponds to the use of the clitic *o*, as in *deitam o lixo lá em baixo onde é que o vão pôr?* 'They put the rubbish down there where are they going to put it?', and the use of the gerund with the aspect verbs *estar* 'to be', *ficar* 'to remain/to be', and *andar* 'to go about/to be' as an alternative to the sequence of an aspect verb followed by the preposition *a* and the infinitive, but giving an equivalent semantic interpretation, as in "parece que o advogado não tá fazendo nada" (CSF, FNC10_HC3.1) instead of *parece que o advogado não tá a fazer nada* 'It seems as though the lawyer is not doing anything'.

4.3 Lexicon

Vocabulary has been the most extensively studied aspect of the varieties of Portuguese spoken in the archipelago of Madeira (cf., e.g., Rebelo/Nunes 2016). The following section presents typical formation types and semantic fields and discusses the vitality of some words.

Formation types – The lexical characteristics of Madeiran Portuguese include all types of formation ranging from archaisms to internal innovation (formal and semantic) and external innovation by borrowing (cf. Reutner 2017, 47–51): examples of archaisms are *azougar* 'to die [animals]' instead of *morrer*, or *bizalho* 'chick' instead of *pintainho*; examples of formal innovation by using the derivational suffix *-inho(a)* are *dentinho* 'appetizer' (< *dente* 'tooth' + *-inho*) instead of *acepipe* or *petisco*, *lapinha* 'nativity scene' (< *lapa* 'cave' + *-inha*) instead of *presépio*, *vaginha* 'runner bean' (< *vagem* 'pod' + *-inha*) instead of *feijão-verde*, or *picadinho* 'Madeiran dish made with diced beef' (< *picada* 'diced beef' + *-inho*); examples of loanwords are *tratuário* 'pavement' (< Fr. *trottoir*) instead of *passeio* (cf. Bazenga 2015, 116), *semilha* 'potato' (< Sp. *semilla* 'seed') instead of *batata* 'potato', as well as *gofio* 'traditional dish from the Canary islands, made with barley flour' (< Sp. *gofio*), or *poncha* 'traditional Madeiran alcoholic drink' (< Engl. *punch*). It also presents phonetic variants of lexical expressions that already exist in standard Portuguese, such as *aquintrodia* 'the other day' instead of *aqui no outro dia*, and typical interjections such as *Estepilha!*, as an expression of amazement, impatience, or indignation instead of, for example *Caramba!*, as well as *Basta que sim!*, *Ca nada!*, or *Ah mãe!* to express, respectively, ironic agreement (as in *Quem diria!…* in the standard variety of Portuguese), negative reaction (as in *Claro que não!*) or a surprised reaction (*Oh*, *Meu Deus!*).

Fauna, flora, dishes and drinks – As for the semantic fields, the vocabulary contains innovations from rural speakers related to endemic fauna and flora, such as *bis-bis* 'regulus madeirensis' for a small endemic bird from Madeira and *ensaião* 'aeonium glandulosum' or *massaroco* 'echium candicans' for plants endemic to Madeira. It also presents the names of typical dishes and drinks (see *gofio* and *poncha* above), as well as *chino* 'cup of coffee' instead of *abatanado*, and *chinesa* 'cup of coffee with milk' instead of *meia de leite*.

Sugar terminology – Madeiran Portuguese also has an important role in the diffusion of the sugar terminology from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic area in the fifteenth century in the Canary Islands, Cabo Verde and São Tomé, and in Brazil in the sixteenth century. In this process, in addition to words of Mediterranean origin such as the Arabic loanword *alfenim* 'type of sweet made from sugarcane' and the Castilian loanword *trapiche* 'sugarcane mills', some new lexical units related to the cultivation of sugar have appeared in Madeira, such as *açucar mascavado* 'brown sugar' and *rapadura* 'unrefined whole sugarcane', which became Madeiran loanwords to other languages and varieties, namely Canarian and American Spanish as well as Brazilian and African Portuguese (Nunes 2018; Vidal-Luengo 2018). Thus, Madeira appears as the epicentre of a shared linguistic and cultural heritage on both sides of the Atlantic, in Africa and the Americas.

Vitality – Nunes (2014; 2017) observed the vitality of some Madeiran regionalisms in a community of educated urban island speakers in the city of Funchal. His findings confirm speakers' knowledge and frequent use of around fifty regionalisms selected from the glossary produced by Figueiredo (2011). These include *buzico* 'kid' instead of *miúdo*, *tranca* 'peg' instead of *mola*, or *cramar* 'to complain' instead of *queixar-se*, *bilhardeiro* 'gossiping person, gossipmonger' instead of *bisbilhoteiro*/*coscuvilheiro*, *desterrar* 'to waste, to lavish' instead of *desbaratar*/*esbanjar*, *patinhar* 'to stamp down' instead of *calcar* or *pisar*, *rebendita* 'act of retaliation' instead of *ato de retaliação*/*de vingança*, *resondar* 'to scold' instead of *refilar*, as well as the expressions already mentioned, namely *lapinha* 'nativity scene', *semilha* 'potato', *tratuário* 'pavement', or *vaginha* 'runner bean'. Speakers' age, gender, and level of formal education did not affect usage. This indicates a tendency among speakers to value and use Madeiran words and sayings as an expression of regional identity (Nunes 2014, 367), which takes precedence over any linguistic prejudice associated with folk sayings.

5 Internal language policy

5.1 Linguistic purism

When Madeiran speakers are asked about Portuguese linguistic diversity, they generally express a preference for the Madeiran accent: 'the accent? I like our accent our Madeiran accent is nice'.[1] They are also conscious of internal variations: 'the accent of people from Funchal is different from that of people from Câmara de Lobos, which is different again from that of people from Ribeira Brava'.[2] Nevertheless, not all Madeiran accents

1 "[O] sotaque? Gosto do nosso sotaque o nosso sotaque madeirense é bonito" (CSF, FNC11_MB2).

2 "[S]otaque do Funchal dos funchalenses é diferente dos de Câmara de Lobos é diferente dos da Ribeira Brava" (CSF, FNC11_MA3).

are appreciated. This is the case, for example, with the Câmara de Lobos accent: 'it's more of a fisherman's accent because not everyone from Câmara de Lobos speaks like that'.[3] Some speakers express a preference for the continental varieties of European Portuguese: 'I am Madeiran, but I prefer the Lisbon accent'.[4] One of the reasons identified, for example in this excerpt from an interview with a female speaker, is that the variety in question is considered to be more correct: 'Which accent or way of speaking do you like most, Fátima? – From Coimbra – Coimbra? Why Fátima? – Because that is where they speak the most correct Portuguese'.[5] The same reasoning explains why it is often recommended that people use the standard European Portuguese variety to the detriment of the regional variety: 'My mother used to tell me that I should talk with a more mainland-type accent'.[6] Of particular relevance here is that the majority of mainland speakers, or those not born in Madeira, consider the Madeiran way of speaking to be both different from their own and difficult to understand, as is confirmed in studies by Ferreira (2004) and Haddar (2008).

5.2 Description of linguistic characteristics

Most descriptions of linguistic characteristics of Madeiran varieties are to be found in scholarly publications. During the twentieth century, several undergraduate dissertations in Romance Philology addressed Madeiran dialects and modes of speech (*falares*), presenting lexical surveys organized as glossaries. There were also several works dealing with Madeiran vocabulary. The most recent of these is Figueiredo (2011), with three hundred fifty lexical entries in the glossary. In addition to these publications, some Madeiran regionalisms can be found in general dictionaries: for example, in the *Dicionário Priberam da Língua Portuguesa* (DPLP), about thirty-five Madeiran words are referenced, among them *tratuário*, *buzico*, *tranca*, or *cramar* (cf. 4.3).

There are references to the dialects or varieties spoken in the Archipelago of Madeira in several Portuguese grammar books. Of particular note are: *O Falar do Arquipélago da Madeira* 'Speech Patterns in the Archipelago of Madeira' in the *Gramática da Língua Portuguesa* (Cuesta/Luz 1971, 139–144), *Os dialectos das ilhas atlânticas* 'the dialects of the Atlantic islands' in the *Nova Gramática do Português Contemporâneo* (Cunha/Cintra 1984, 19), and, more recently, a section on Madeiran dialects in chapter 5 *Variedades Dialetais do Português Europeu* 'Dialect Varieties of European Portuguese' (Segura 2013, 106–110) in the *Gramática do Português* (Raposo et al. 2013). These three

3 "[É] mais o sotaque dos pescadores porque nem toda a gente de Câmara de Lobos fala assim" (CSF, FNC10_MB2).

4 "[S]ou madeirense mas gosto mais do sotaque de Lisboa" (CSF, FNC10_MB2).

5 "[Q]ual é o sotaque ou pronúncia que a Fátima mais gosta? – de Coimbra – Coimbra? porquê Fátima? – porque é onde se fala o português mais correto" (CSF, FNC10_CM3).

6 "[A] minha mãe dizia-me que devia falar com um sotaque mais continental" (CSF, FNC11_MBC).

grammars only give a description of the phonetic particularities, however, and do not address other syntactical or lexical linguistic phenomena.

5.3 Usage of linguistic characteristics

As Rebelo (2015) observes, regional features continue to be present in spontaneous speech, even among university-educated public figures. Although there are no studies of the educated variety that is spoken in Madeira, it is nonetheless possible to observe the presence of regional features in this variety. A sample of interviews from informants with a higher education qualification, which is taken from the CSF, reveals the occurrence of specific phonetic characteristics, such as the palatalization of the /l/ after an /i/ , paragoge (the addition of a final *-e* [-i]), and the monophthongization of the diphthong *-ões* [-õjʃ] at the end of a word, which are indicated in the list presented in 4.1 at points (ii), (vii), and (viii).

Variety used in education – The regional curriculum has introduced some notable initiatives aimed at better representing the Madeiran context. The 'Reading Chest' (*Baú de Leitura*) project is aimed at students in the three stages of compulsory education, while the Regional Reading Programme works in conjunction with other documents for guidance on the teaching and learning of Portuguese as a first language. Unlike the National Reading Programme, the Regional Education Authority's Reading Programme specifically includes Madeiran authors such as Irene Lucília, Octaviano Correia, Isabel Fagundes, and Francisco Fernandes.

Variety used in the media – The standard form of Portuguese is used in the media (press, radio, television, official websites of the regional government and other regional organizations). Regional specificities are mainly acknowledged through content, which focuses on situations and topics that reflect local life, or local culture and language (*Cá nada* on RTP Madeira, which is a TV series with ten episodes focusing on Madeiran language and consisting of a documentary followed by a debate with a studio guest). In the case of radio and television, local colour is observed not only in the subject matter, but also in the accent of presenters, who can be easily identified as Madeiran. Common regionalisms are also frequently used in the regional press.

Variety used in blogs – There are a number of blogs by Madeiran authors. Nelson Veríssimo, in *Passos na Calçada* 'Footsteps on the Pavement', compiles a list of around one hundred blogs, several of which are published by journalists (*Ultraperiferias* 'Ultraperipheries', *O Rabo do Gato* 'The Cat's Tail') and politicians (*Apontamentos Sem Nome* 'Notes without a Name'). As with numerous regional business and organization names (cf. Santos/Rebelo 2019), many of the names of these blogs refer to regional identity through the use of the noun *Madeira* or the adjective *Madeirense* (e.g., *Farpas da Madeira* 'Madeiran Barbs', *A paródia madeirense* 'Madeiran Parody', *Madeira gentes e lugares* 'Madeira people and places', *Madeira hoje e sempre* 'Madeira today and always', *Madeira, minha vida* 'Madeira, my life'). Others make use of regionalisms to mark out

Madeiran identity (*Basta que sim, uma afirmação clara de ser madeirense* 'You don't say, a clear affirmation of being Madeiran', *Bilhardeiro*, *Buzico*, cf. 4.3), while others still refer to toponyms (*Cais regional* 'Regional Quay' or the viewpoint *Terreiro da luta* '(lit.) Shrine to the Battle'). Also worthy of mention are the Facebook pages *Compadre Jodé* 'Buddy Jodé', with 43,600 followers, and *Madeirense Puro* 'Pure Madeiran', with 32,400 followers, and which describes itself as 'made by Madeirans, for Madeirans, Pure Madeiran® is a site of memories that we want to keep alive'.[7]

Variety used in literature – Representations of Madeiran linguistic characteristics (cf. Rebelo 2015) in literature most commonly refer to the most down-to-earth varieties. Only servants, peasants, and other figures corresponding to speakers from the lower end of the social scale are marked out. Through the representation of such figures, authors (Veríssimo 1990, 29–39, 119–130, 151–164) pick out the most conspicuous features of Madeiran speech. This example, taken from Jardim's novel *Saias de Balão* ('Ball Gowns', 1946), illustrates the diphthongization of the tonic /i/, which is considered to be typical of Madeira:

> "Menêina [instead of *menina*], nã vaia p'ra riba!... Menêina vai-se pisar!... Menêina" (Jardim 1946, 32).[8]

In the novel *Minha Gente* ('My Folk', 1951), António Marques da Silva tries to represent the speakers of the São Jorge area (Santana) in the north of the island by using Madeiran regionalisms as *mercar* instead of *comprar*, and transcribing some phonetic features, such as the assimilation (semivocalization or vocalization) of the final fricative /s/, *loi dias* instead of *os dias*, and the diphthongization of the stressed vowel /i/ in *barreiga* instead of *barriga* (cf. 4.1), as well as the alternative formulation *O meu desgosto é não poder pôr-me desta terra pá rua. Ainda que queira comprar um casaco pá missa, não posso. Anda-se atolado em lameiro todos os dias e o que se ganha mal dá pá barriga*:

> "O mê digosto é nã poder botar-me desta terra pá rua. Ainda cum queira mercar um casaco pá missa, nã se pode. Anda-se atolado em lameiro todo loi dias e o que se ganha mal dá pá barreiga..." (Silva 1985, 13).[9]

The writer Horácio Bento de Gouveia is noted for the vast representation of folk Madeiranisms in his work (Santos 2007), in both syntactic and phonetic features. In the novel *Torna-Viagem: o Romance do Emigrante* 'Return Trip: The Emigrant's Story' for example, *nevoeiro* [nɨvwɐjru] appears as *navoeiro* [nɐvwɐjru] with the orthographic representa-

7 "[F]eito por madeirenses para os madeirenses, o Madeirense Puro® é um lugar de memórias que queremos eternizar" (Facebook 2020).

8 'Miss, don't go to the riverbank!... miss you're going to trip up! ... Miss'.

9 'I hate not being able to find my way to the street. Even if I want to buy a Sunday coat, I can't. I end up bogged down in mud all the time and what I earn barely pays to fill my belly...'.

tion of a non-standard pronunciation of the unstressed vowel in the first syllable of the word:

> "Q' aconteceu? – O navoeiro matou mê filho!" (Gouveia 1995, 56).[10]

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